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XXII.—MIDDLE ENGLISH *CLANNESSE*

Mr. Bateson's numerous notes on the Middle English *Clannesse* (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XIII, pp. 377-86) renew interest in that curious, though often tantalizing poem. Worthy of acceptance, it seems to me, are those on lines 3, 30, 54, 222, 341, 379, 411, 449, 553, 630, 1048, 1261, 1483, 1566, 1735, a considerable list. About as many others are equally good, but have been proposed before. For example, the *New Eng. Dict.* has anticipated Mr. Bateson in his suggestions for lines 148, 214, 887, 1038, 1469, while the *Cent. Dict.* had preceded the *NED* in the note on line 1514. Besides, the *NED* seems to be misquoted on *tyzt* (1153) and *penitotes* (1472). The former is certainly given under *tight*, v. 2, with this passage among others. Nor have I found where the *NED* reads *ryther* for *ryth* of 1543.

In fact one wonders that Mr. Bateson has so greatly restricted his reading before commenting on the poem. Had he examined the article of Professor Skeat, to which I called attention in reviewing his edition of *Patience* (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVIII, p. 171), he would scarcely have written his remarks on lines 48 and 1075, while he might have added Skeat's valuable notes on lines 40, 41, 889, 1383, 1405. Had he used Morris's revised edition of the *Alliterative Poems* (1869), instead of the first edition (1864), he would not have made his suggestions upon lines 765 and 935, and he might not have erred in his proposal for line 1747, to which I shall call attention later. This failure to use the revised Morris is more surprising, since in my review of his *Patience* I pointed out five cases in which his textual errors were due to following

the earlier edition.¹ Again, had Mr. Bateson done me the honor to read my articles in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, x, p. 373 and *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxi, p. 1, he need scarcely have repeated the suggestions on lines 820 and 1520.

While noting these failures of Bateson to give credit to others, it seems well to mention important annotations on the poem by C. F. Brown in *Publ. of Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, xix, p. 149; F. Holthausen in *Archiv für die Neueren Sprachen*, cvi, p. 349; and A. T. Bödtker in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxvi, p. 127. To this growing body of illustrative material the following notes may perhaps make some additions, as well as some further corrections to Mr. Bateson's article. The numbers refer to the lines of the poem and, unless otherwise stated, to the revised edition of Morris. So also references to Bateson are to the article mentioned above.²

17-22. Morris has missed the punctuation and sense. The sentence closes with the latter line, and a comma at most should be placed after line 20.

39. Should not *helded* be *helde*, pr. subj., meaning 'should incline to (approach) the table'? See *schulde be halden* of 42.

63-70. The poem follows the more vivid account of

¹ The later edition has differences in text, notes, and glossary, as does not seem to be generally known. Even the *NED*, under *tevel*, quotes the older *tenel* from the first edition, rather than the later correction.

² Since this paper was written and accepted for publication Mr. Gollancz, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xiv, 152, has noticed Bateson's article and anticipated me in some suggestions. Where Gollancz and I wholly agree I have added a (G) at the close of my note, or to that portion with which he agrees. In other cases I have discussed his suggestions by additions to my original material. As I read proof, the notes of E. Ekwall (*Eng. Stud.* XLIX, p. 483) have just come to hand.

Luke in the excuses made, rather than the more concise statement of Matthew.

64. The reading should be *als-tyd* 'at once, immediately,' as indicated in the glossary.

69. Bateson's emendation of the form *sower* to *swer* is unnecessary, since *ow* is used for *w* in several other cases in the poem; cf. *dowyne*, *Pearl*, 326, *dowelled*, *Clan.*, 376 and 1196, *wyndowande*, 1048. The form *swēr* beside *swōr* is found in the preterit.

72. Morris's change of the ms. *plate* to *place* is needless, since *plate* 'place, situation' is possible. The *NED* gives no ME. example, but quotes Phaer's *Æneid* VII T ii b, and the *Eng. Dial. Dict.* shows it is still dialectal in this sense in various parts of England, especially the North Midland. Such a compound as *grass-plat*(*plot*) in standard English preserves the short form of the same word.

106-7. Bateson's new punctuation of 107 is correct, but he has missed the meaning. *Denounced me noȝt* means 'announced (proclaimed, accepted) me not,' in accord with the earlier meaning of *denounce*. The words are thus equivalent to *renayed habbe* in the previous line (G.). The *NED* cites this passage with the questioned meaning of *renounce*, but quotes without *noȝt*, which in the older reading was placed in the second half line.

110. Morris proposed *is* before *demed*, but it is not necessary. The phrase *ȝat demed* modifies *dede* as an appositive.

117. & ay a segge soerly semed by her wedeȝ. Morris suggested *soberly* for *soerly*, but that does not clear up the passage. The plural *ledeȝ* of 116 and *her wedeȝ* of this show that a plural is intended, and *soerly* is probably *serly* 'severally, individually.' I therefore suggest,

& ay as segges serly semed by her wedeȝ.

The two lost *s*'s have coalesced with those of the following and preceding words. The distribution according to rank, —here the clothing indicating rank,—is thoroughly characteristic of an English feast, though somewhat at variance with the Scripture story.

119. for-knowen 'known before.' The meaning is, 'Men in the company, known before to be clean (excellent), were few.'

127. Morris changes the ms. *poueuier* to *poueren* unnecessarily. The scribe has repeated *ue* here, one of his numerous similar repetitions. The correct form is *pouer* as in *Pearl*, 1075, or *pouere* as in lines 615 and 1074.

168. Morris suggests *fowle* for *sowle*, but needlessly. Perhaps the same as *sowly* with *y* for final *e*. Both *NED* and *EDD* cite a verb *sowl* 'soil, pollute'; cf. Sch. *sule* vb. 'soil.'

201. Bateson's proposal to read *sozt on soundely* for *sozt unsoundely* can scarcely be correct. If *un* were the adverb *on*, modifying *sozt*, it would bear the stress and destroy the alliteration, as it bears the stress in the passage from Layamon's *Brut* which Bateson cites. Besides, *unsoundely* may easily have an appropriate meaning. In *Patience*, 58, and I think in 527, the adj. *unsounde* is used as a substantive in the sense of 'misfortune, evil,' that is 'unhealthiness' to the person implied. Here the adv. has the meaning of 'unsoundly,' not in relation to God the avenger, but to the victim; I suggest 'harshly, grievously' (G.).

204-8. The punctuation is unfortunate. The sentence closes with line 204, and the end of the next line should have a comma, carrying on the sentence to the end of line 208.

211. *tra mountayne*, *tramountayne* in the first edition. The glossary in both cases badly misses the meaning of

OF. *tramontaine* 'pole star,' here 'north' in general. The common medieval notion, based on a misinterpretation of *Is.*, 14, 13-4; see Skeat's excellent note to *Piers Plow.*, B I, 118, although he does not cite this passage. Quotation marks belong at end of 212.

215. Bateson has missed the point, I think. The first *his* refers to the devil, the second to God: 'The Lord drove him to the abyss according to the measure of his (the devil's pride), his (God's) measure (of punishment) nevertheless, except he lost' etc. *Mesure and meße*, which Bateson proposes because it occurs frequently in alliterative union, is paralleled perhaps quite as often by *mesure and metz*, that is *mets*, OE. *gemet* 'measure.'

Gollancz cannot be right, I think, in proposing an unknown OF. *mes* from the verb *amesen* 'moderate,' nor is his suggestion necessary with the proposal above.

222. Gollancz confirms from the ms. Bateson's conjecture of *sweved*, but rightly opposes his alteration to *sweyed*. *Sweved* would correspond to an OE. **swāfan*, parallel to ON. *sveiva*, the latter used in *Patience*, 253.

224. For *fylter* read *fylter(ed)*; cf. line 1689.

225. Bateson's note on *stynt ne myzt* is one of the most important of his article, especially for its examples of similar uses of *ne*. The late Mr. G. C. Macaulay, in writing of my note on *Pat.*, 231 (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxi, p. 1), expressed the opinion that the difficulty was not so great as I had assumed, and added:

"I am sure that many instances could be collected of this kind of echo of a preceding negative in a clause to which it does not properly belong."

He then cites *Havelok*, 722-3 and 2975-7. It is clear that there should be a fuller examination of the usage.

One may agree with Gollancz that the idiom may be due

to "confusion of two constructions," without agreeing that he has sufficiently explained *Patience*, 231 in his "special note" to that passage.

226. *for-þikke* should be *for þikke*, the adjective as a substantive, a use so common in these poems. For a modern example, compare *the thick of the woods*.

230. Bateson proposes for *wraþed* a word not known to exist. Is there not contrast between *wy3* and *wrech*, God and the devil? Cf. *þe wy3e þat al wro3t* in lines 280 and 284.

Gollancz's change to *wroth* seems to me unnecessary. *Wrathed* occurs in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, 2420, where it has the meaning 'be beguiled, deceived.' The primitive meaning of OE. *wrāðian*, ME. *wrathen* as well as *wrōthen*, should be 'become twisted or turned,' from which both 'be deceived' and 'be angry' are possible derivatives. The primitive meaning 'twist, turn' may also have persisted and explain this passage in *Clannesse*. *Wrathed not þe wy3* would then mean 'God (þe wy3) turned (changed) not.' This is the meaning of the emended verb Gollancz assumes, although he regards *wy3* as referring to Satan. As I have said above I think there is contrast between *wy3*, here 'God,' and *þe wrech* 'the wretch,' that is Satan. Morris glossed *wrech* in this place as if it were *wrache* 'vengeance,' as in the preceding line, but in other places in the poems correctly as 'wretch.'

243. *forgart*. The meaning 'forfeit,' justified by ON. usage, is better than 'ruin' here and in *Pearl*, 321.

257-62. In his notes Morris proposed two changes, *forme-fostere3* for line 257 and *lede3* for line 261. Bateson rightly opposes the first, but would add an unnecessary *on* before *þe folde*. The passage is clear as it stands, if we assume the meaning 'first generation' or 'offspring' for *forme-foster*, as does the *Ct. Dict.* which quotes this

passage under *foster* (G.). The general term is made more concrete by the next line. The word *lede* in 261 refers to Seth, the next after Adam to have children recognized in the Scripture genealogies; cf. *Gen.*, 5, 3, *Luke*, 3, 38, the poetical OE. *Genesis*, 1147, on the last of which my fuller note has now appeared in the *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xiv, 207.

265-8. Holthausen's note mentioned at the beginning of this paper is not adequate. To it should be added the explanation of Petrus Comestor, that the *filius hominum* of the *Vulgate* were *de stirpe Cain et victi concupiscentia*. To this Methodius, referred to by Petrus, had joined the further implication of Sodomy. Our poet, however, does not make the *fili Dei* sons of Seth, and *religiosi*, as in the *Historia Scholastica*, but *fendes*, as noted below.

269. *fende*. The form should be *fendes* to agree with a common medieval interpretation of *Gen.*, 6, 2, by which *fili Dei* of the *Vulgate* were regarded as the fallen angels; see my 'Legends of Cain' (*Publ. of Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, xxi, p. 920). For the plural form cf. *fende3* of line 221.

271. fallen. We should probably read *fellen* (or *felle*), the past plural as in *Pearl*, 1120. If not a misreading of the ms. the form seems here to have been thought a past participle after *vern* of the preceding line. There is nothing in any interpretation known to me that would make possible the subject *dezter of þe douþe*.

313. Bateson's explanation of *dryven* as of a rare meaning seems to me needless. Is it any other than 'made, produced by the process of the work'?

Gollancz is quite too general in his translation, it seems to me. *Endentur*, which probably should be *endenture3*, may refer to any opening left in the building and requiring "daubing" with pitch. Can it also refer to the holes left by the pins or nails which bind together the

overlapping boards of the ark? In the picture of the boat from which Jonah is thrown (Gollancz's *Patience*) these holes are plainly indicated, and these might explain the poet's *dryven*.

The *NED* gives the meaning 'jointing by means of notches or indentations' with this one passage as an example, but with exactly what idea I can not see. If the boat was clinker built, as in the picture in *Patience*—see Gollancz's edition—a cross section of the side would appear something like teeth, the original meaning of the Old French word *endenteure*(-ure).

322. Gollancz's suggestion that *boske3* is a mistake for *boskine3* (see his note on 1075) seems unnecessary in view of what is said of the animals when they leave the ark; compare line 530 f. Noah merely provided *boske3* for such animals as usually lived in them, another bit of the poet's realistic addition to the Scripture.

341. While I agree with Gollancz that it is not necessary to hyphen *god man* because of the alliteration, I think it more than likely the word is a true compound, and for the reason Bateson suggested, that is a "designation of civility."

399. The first edition of the *Alliterative Poems* has no & after *fere*, and the notes to the second edition still retain that reading. I assume, however, that the text of the second edition, *fere &*, is correct.

408. *sprawlyng*. Morris gives no meaning, and Bradley-Stratmann only 'sprawl.' The meaning 'struggle' is here necessary.

421. For *flote* read *floted*, to agree with the tense of *drof* in line 416.

433-4. Gollancz passes over the difficulties of these lines too easily, it seems to me. To gloss *rozly* as 'rough' without accounting for the form is not helpful, and I do

not find *rozly* recorded. Besides, why should it be 'rough for the remnant' because of the loss of life mentioned in the preceding lines? What basis is there for Gollancz's 'mixed up pell-mell within'? *So joyst*, which both he and Bateson translate 'thus lodged' without otherwise explaining the word, is apparently a past participle of ME. *joissen* (cf. *rejoissen*) 'rejoiced, glad,' and the line means 'within which all species so happy were joined together.' This again would seem to require in *rozly* some such idea as Morris suggested by conjecturing *rwly* 'sorrowful,' or Skeat who proposed 'pleasant, glad,' as the meaning.

ME. *joissen* remains in Scotch and is cited for Lancashire by the EDD: "To be peaceably bruiked, joysid, set, used, and disposed upon." In support of the conjecture of Morris it may be said that, in the *Cursor Mundi* account of the flood, Noah pities the drowning people and even prays for their souls.

455. *pat rebel wat3 ever*. Hebrew legend (Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, I, p. 163) says that the raven rebelled at going from the ark, and proclaimed his hostility to both God and Noah, the former for placing him among the unclean animals. The raven even accused Noah of trying to get rid of him for personal reasons. St. Ambrose later used the raven and dove as types of evil and excellence. Compare *Liber de Noe et Arca*, cap. xviii: "Ut corvus malitiam, sic virtutem columba exprimit."

456. *corbyal untrwe*. Bateson assumes the form must have been *corbel*, perhaps influenced by Northern *corbie*. In spite of the appearance of *corbel* in *Gaw.*, 1355, I propose here *corby al untrwe* as a simpler settlement of the difficulty (G). The *al untrwe* would agree with the *rebel wat3 ever* in the preceding lines, besides being fully explained by Hebrew legend, as quoted in the preceding note. It is emphasized in the OE. *Genesis*, 1446 f., and in

Cursor Mundi, 1881-96. The latter shows that the raven had already become a type of the negligent or even traitorous messenger (1893-4), an idea which is especially expressed in Holland's *Houlate*: "How Corbie messenger . . . taryit as a traitour (812). The *Houlate* (or *Howlat*) was written about 1450, somewhat less than a century after *Clannesse*.

459. croukes . . . carayne. The story of the carrion, a part of the Hebrew legend, is found in the OE. *Genesis* and in Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle*, 413-16. Holthausen notes only that Petrus Comestor (*Hist. Schol.*, cap. xxxiv) gives it as one explanation of the raven's not returning: "forte interceptus aquis, vel inveniens supernatans cadaver in aquis est illectus eo." St. Augustine knew the story (*Dialogus Quaestionum*, lxy, Migne, 40, col. 750), the probable source of Petrus: "Corvus ut non reverteretur, aut aquis interceptus est, aut alicui cadaveri illectus insedit." The punctuation should be a comma after 459 and semicolon after 460, rather than the reverse.

With the passage may be compared the account of the deluge in the Old French *Mistère du Viel Testament* (*Société des Anciens Textes Français*), I, 6021, where Sem says to Noah:

Le corbeau est fin et ruse,
Peult estre qu'il c'est abuse
A la charongne.

469. Morris reads *doune*, but the correct reading is doubtless *douve* here and *dowve* in line 485. In 481, in which Morris reads *dovene*, we should probably read *dove* on the assumption that *ve* has been repeated by scribal error.

491. dry3ed. I suggest *dry3ehed* 'tediousness, dreariness.'

515. Alle þe mukel mayny molde. Morris's *on before*

molde is not needed. *Mayny* is *maine* with *y* for the final vowel, and means 'great, powerful.' There may be scribal confusion with *mayny* 'company,' but that word regularly appears with *ey*, not *ay*, in these poems. With this interpretation the line is nearer the *Vulgate Gen.*, 8, 21: "Nequaquam ultra maledicam terrae propter homines."

521. The imperative plurals in *-es* of all the other verbs in the passage require *menskeȝ* in this line.

550. Bateson opposes Morris's introduction of *ne* before *sytteȝ*, and the clause may mean only 'so that he is unchaste (sits unclean),' explaining the preceding expression.

Gollancz's interpretation, 'that fits him uncleanly,' takes no account of the fact that in this poet 'uncleanly' should be represented by *unclanly* (*unclanlych*); compare *clanly* in *Pearl*, 2, *clanlych* in *Clannesse*, 264, 310, 1089, 1327. Nor does Gollancz's reading of *me* (553) as an ethic dative seem to me correct. *ȝat schewe me schale* means 'that shall show me (point me out, reveal me),' a not uncommon use of *schewe*.

577. *ȝat* has probably been introduced from the preceding line and should be omitted.

578. The comma should be after *naȝt*, not after *hym*.

590. Morris suggests *ȝer* for *ȝre*, but the alliteration requires a stronger word. *ȝre* may be OE. *ȝrēa* 'rebuke, correction, punishment.' The line carries out the idea of 588, that no deed can escape God's sight, or just retribution.

599. draw *allȝt*. In his notes Morris anticipated Bateson's *a lyt* 'a little.' The latter has otherwise misconceived the line. *Draw* means 'draw out, delay,' and *draw a lyt* is in contrast with *drepeȝ in hast*.

It is not clear to me why Gollancz is so sure the ms.

allyt is intentional, at least without justification of the statement from other examples of the idiom.

629. *cobhous*. Bateson's suggestion makes the word a tautological compound—cattleshed-house. This may be right, but I suggest an alternative which would avoid the difficulty. If *cob* really equals *cub*, it may be the word applied to small ones of the animal kingdom, first the fox, bear, wolf, dog, and perhaps as here the calf. The *Vulgate* has *armentum* 'cattle shed,' but as Abraham took a *vitulum*, and that *tenerrimum et optimum*—the *tender* & not *toze* of line 630—the poet may well have known that it probably was not in an ordinary cattle shed.

I leave the suggestion above, although if Gollancz is right that the ms. reads *cov-hous* 'cow-house' no comment is necessary on the passage. Morris plainly prints *cobhous* in both editions, but gives in the margin the suggested reading which Gollancz now says appears in the original text.

636-7. The punctuation shows that Morris misunderstood the lines. *Mete* of 637 is not OE. *mete* 'meat, food,' but OE. *māte* 'meet, fit.' It therefore modifies *messeȝ of mylke*, and begins a new sentence, a semicolon at least being necessary at the close of 636. The meat of the feast is the *potage* of 637.

654. The suggestion of Morris to change *sothly* to *softly* or *sofly* is unnecessary. The words were true enough to Sarah. For the spelling see *sothful* in *Pearl*, 498.

655. for *tykel þat þou tonne moȝteȝ*. The *NED* puts *tykel* under *tickle* adj. meaning 'fickle, unreliable,' but the word also means 'pleasant, wanton.' I conceive it is here an adjective used as a substantive in the latter sense, and translates the *Vulgate voluptati* of Sarah's speech in *Gen.*, 18, 12. For *tonne* no adequate explanation has been

found, and I suggest it may be a misreading of *teme* 'bring forth.' The last two words of the line should translate or paraphrase the Latin *operam dabo*.

695-6. Holthausen (reference above) thinks based on Petrus Comestor, *Hist. Schol.*, cap. 52: "*usque ad ignominiosam libidinem proruperunt*." A better source, as more specific, is *Gen.*, 19, 5 and *Rom.*, 1, 24 f., passages which St. Augustine treats together in his discussion of 'Sodomia,' Migne, 40, col. 1326. *Fylter* of 696 should be *fyltere3*; cf. line 224.

721. Now fyfty should be *Now if fyfty*, to correspond with the Scripture story.

730. & is here, as in 864 and 1027, and 'if.' Cf. *and* in the same sense in 739.

752. if my lorde, if he. The first *if* should be *of*.

771. This most interesting addition to the Bible account of Abraham's intercession seems to be wholly original with the English poet. At least it is not recorded in Ginzberg's *Legends of the Jews*, or in any other place so far as I have found. It deserves to rank with the humanizing of the Abraham-Isaac story in the Brome play. The word *meke* must be a verb meaning 'be meek or merciful,' a meaning justified by the Norse verb *mȳkja*. *Mayster* should then be separated as a word of address. In 772 *lef brother* is a strengthening of the relation of uncle to nephew in the Bible.

791. brere flour. The 'briar flower' is doubtless the white heath, *erica arborea*. Brere flour should be a compound.

795. We are indebted to Gollancz for the revised reading *aucly* for the printed *autly*. To his earlier instances of the word may be added from *Brad-Strat.* that of *Prompt. Parv.*, *aukli* 'sinistre, perverse.'

799. If the verb is to be introduced, it should probably

be in the form *sayt*₃, as in line 75, *Pearl*, 457, or perhaps *says* as in *Pearl*, 459.

819-21. The words should be quoted, since they are the exact speech of Lot. A colon should close line 818.

827. *scelt*. Apparently ON. *skella* 'clash,' also 'laugh loudly (as in scorn), scold,' or some derivative of *skjalla* with similar meaning.

846. *3estende sor3e*. No change seems necessary in the last word. The first can scarcely be from OE. *gāstan*, as Morris suggests, since it would then have had *g* not *3* as its initial. If from OE. *gest* 'yeast' the meaning seems hardly strong enough, and no verb from that word is recorded. It has not been noticed, I think, that the form might come from OE. *ȳstan* 'storm, rage' through shortening and subsequent modification of the vowel. An OE. *gīst* 'storm' is recorded in Toller-Bosworth, though without reference, but the changes suggested are not impossible. A meaning 'raging' would admirably fit the passage.

Gollancz's attempt to connect *sor3e* with the word in *Patience* 275 is unnecessary, since *sor3e* 'sorrow' occurs several times in the poems and would here be appropriate to the Sodomites because of the frustration of their designs.

848. I agree with Gollancz that Bateson's proposal of OF. *briche* is not needed. I suggest that OE. *bryce* 'breakable, worthless, bad' may here be a substantive 'evil.' Gollancz's idea of *up-brayde*₃ as two words seems equally needless, since the meaning 'hurl up, throw up' would be practically the same in either case. The alliteration and stress is also clearly on *brayde*₃ as we should expect if part of a compound.

855. *woned no woþe*. The meaning is 'refrained from, turned from,' not 'delay, cease' as Morris in glos-

sary; cf. OE. *wandian*. *Allas* of 953 should be enclosed in quotation marks, as spoken by Lot.

912. End of speech, and quotation marks needed.

915. hem should be *hym*.

945. *kayre-ne con*. Morris's form of the first word, in his glossary assumed to be an infinitive *kayrene*, is impossible. Björkman, *Scandinavian Loan-Words in Middle English*, p. 64, gives to *kayre* a meaning 'return' as well as 'go,' and this admirably fits this passage. We should therefore read *kayre ne con* 'can not return.' The change to the past tense in *flowen* is not strange for this writer.

956. *swe*. The suggestion of *sweyed* by Morris perhaps led the *NED* to assume a form *swey*, OE. **swēgan* 'go, move.' That the form should be past tense is clear from the parallel *gorde* of the next line. The natural past tense of the ms. word would be *swed*, corresponding to *sued* in *Gaw.*, 501, 1705. Nor is *swe* 'follow, pursue, chase,' as in Layamon's *Brut*, 16437, Gloucester's *Chron.* (Rolls), 2941, at all impossible. So also *sweyed* in line 87, each possible from OF. *suer*, *suir*. From these must of course be separated forms with *ey*, *e3*, like *swey*, *swe3*, which may represent the OE. verb mentioned above as probably existing. It is not clear from Bateson's note whether he had the OF. verb in mind, but his emendation is unnecessary it seems to me.

Professor Ekwall (*Eng. Stud.*, XLIX, p. 483) would make *swe* OE. *swēog*, without accounting for the lack of diphthong or the loss of final *g*.

958. *Abdama & Syboym*. Clearly based on the names of the destroyed cities in the *Vulgate Deut.*, 29, 23—"Adama et Seboim." They are not mentioned in *Genesis* 19 (but see *Gen.*, 14, 2) or in Petrus Comestor, but the *Aldama* cited by Bateson from Mandeville's *Travels* is probably only one of several transformations.

961-2. It is not strange that *þe helle* should here be masculine and referred to by *he* in the next line. The passage would then mean 'For when hell heard the hounds of heaven (that is the winds of 948, thunder of 953, perhaps rain of 953), he was suddenly glad, unfolded (opened) at once.' The *he* of 963 would also refer to hell or the devil. *Houndez of heven* is a fine figure, one might almost think handed down from heathen times. Hell is made a person also in the OE. *Nicodemus*, xxvi, and in *Curs. Mund.*, 18025, so that the personal use in this passage is not exceptional.

979 f. A number of extra-biblical items. Of Lot's wife, *þat never bode keped* is explained in 996 f. *Over her lyfte shulder* (981) is perhaps the earliest recorded example of this expression, here apparently indicating ill-fortune. *And so ho zet standez* (984) is quoted from Petrus Comestor who himself mentions Josephus as his source. *Þay slypped bi & syze hir not* (985) is perhaps the poet's own explanation of a point not cleared up by the Scripture narrative. The reference in 1000 appears in Hebrew legend (Ginzberg 1, 255): "The pillar exists unto this day. The cattle lick it all day long, and in the evening it seems to have disappeared, but when morning comes it stands there as large as before."

1003. Morris adds *so* needlessly before *much*. He has taken *nomon* as *no mon* 'no man,' but it is equal to *numen* pp. 'taken.' For *-on* equals *-en* see *schepen*, that is *schepen* 'stable' in 1076.

1035. *angre*. Morris suggests *augré* for *aigré* 'sharp,' but with a question. The word is merely the adj. *angre* in an older meaning 'troublesome, annoying.'

1037. *waxlokes*. In explaining this passage C. F. Brown (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, xix, 151) translates this

word as 'wax lumps.' It is perhaps nearer to OE. *locc* 'lock,' since the sticky mass might easily suggest hair.

1040. *festred bones*. Morris suggested *festres*, but the past participle from a ME. *festren* with the meaning 'putrify, rot' better suits the place. The *NED* gives no quotation with that meaning before 1540, but earlier use in that sense is entirely possible.

1053. *clene layk* should be *clenelayk* 'purity, chastity,' Orm's *clænle33c*. This Orm uses of Mary in Vol. 1, 85, 86, 159, beside *clænnesse* on the same page. Alliteration on the secondarily stressed element of the compound is not uncommon; cf. *wayferende* (79), *overþwert* (1084), *Nabigo-de-nozer* (1312), and many others.

1057. *Clopyngel*. The passage in *Rom. of Rose* is 2159-2852 (ME. version 2175-2950). There is little in the god of love's speech which has to do with the subject of this poem, although the lover is asked at the beginning to put aside villainy and pride.

1076. *schroude hous*. The word is a compound *schroude-hous*, corresponding to Icl. *skrūð-hūs* 'vestry,' and we may doubtless assume 'tiring house of priests' as the meaning here.

1092. *ungoderly*. The form has not been explained, but as a Scandinavian word with final (even inflectional) *r* was occasionally borrowed in that form, this may be based on Scand. *gōð-r*, influenced by ME. *gōd* 'good.' Cf. ME. *hazer*, *hazherrle33c*, *hazherrlike*, and Björkman, *Scand. Loan-Words in Middle English*, p. 17. The meaning of the word is clearly 'ungoodly, evil.'

1099. *also-tyd*. Should be *al so tyd* 'all so quickly.'

1111. *sovly*. The change by Morris to *soverly* is unnecessary. A verb *sowl* has remained to Modern English in the sense required. See *sowle* in 168, of which this may be a variant with final *y* for *e*.

1123. & wax ever. The suggestion of Morris, in his notes, that we should read & *wax ho ever* seems necessary.

1124. in pyese. Morris's interpretation 'whole' seems justified, in spite of Bateson's reference to Pliny. That pearls are broken, scaled off, and otherwise divided may easily have been known to the English poet.

If, as Gollancz suggests, *pyese* is OF. *pais* 'peace,' I conjecture some medieval reference to human influence upon the pearl. The passage would then mean, it retains its lustre while "in peace," but loses it when not cherished (1125); it regains it when washed in wine "with worship (renewed appreciation)" as in line 1127. Yet some search has not yet revealed any medieval basis for this idea.

1127. wasch . . . in wyn. Pearls are still cleaned with a dilute solution of alcohol (*Book of the Pearl* by Kunz and Stevenson, p. 396), and a sour wine might have been used for the same purpose in the Middle Ages.

1141. Þene efte lastes hit likkes. Morris makes *lastes* a verb, but it may better be the noun *laste* 'fault, evil': 'Then again evil it likes,' that is 'if it likes evil' etc. In the next line *þewes* must be *þeves*, as Morris suggests with a question. The noun *laste* occurs in *Pat.*, 198.

1165. forloyne. Should be *forloyned*, as in 282.

1226. noble. Probably should be *nobles*; cf. *fende* = *fendes* (269).

1234. tuyred. The *NED* assumes the word is *tyrved*, as in 630 and Gollancz now agrees. Such an assumption makes no attempt to account for the form, or the manner in which it came to exist. I suggest it may be for OE. *teorian* 'tire, cause to fall, weaken,' since the poet sometimes uses *uy* for OE. *eo* before *r*, as in *buyrne* (*Pat.*, 340) beside the commoner *burne* 'man,' and commonly for *i*, as in *huyde* 'hide,' *kuy*, 'ky, cows.' The meaning

of OE. *teorian* would suit as well as ME. *tirven*, or may we not say better? In the line *torne* should be *torned*.

1267. *hokyllen*. The sense requires the past tense of some verb, so that if the suggestion of Morris in his glossary is to be taken it should be *holkked* as in 1222. But the meaning of that word, 'gouge out, hollow out' does not well suit. I propose *hom kyllled* 'struck them' assuming that *ho* should have the bar above indicating *m* or *n*.

1291. *numnend*. Morris's conjecture *nummen* 'taken' must be right, and that form of *numen* occurs in *Pat.* 76.

1303. *modey moder chylde*. The last two words should be a compound, *moder-chylde*, as in *King Horn*, 664 and other places. Note how the reading as a compound improves the matter, as in the case of *brere-flour* (791), and *schroude-hous* (1076).

1336. *ne no*. Clearly should be *ne on*, as Morris conjectures.

1358. *vouche on a vayment*. Bateson labors too unnecessarily on the passage. In his notes to the second edition Morris had put together *avayment*, glossing it 'exhibition' (G.). *On* may be an 'an' without change of form, as in *Pearl*, 9, 530, 869. In our idiom the words mean no more than 'make an exhibition.'

1381. *wunder wro3t*. Bateson suggests a compound, comparing OE. *wunder-weorc*. The comparison is unfortunate, since *wunder* in the oldest period was a sb. In Middle English, however, it became an adj.-adv., and as the latter it here properly modifies *wro3t*; cf. Chaucer's *wonder nyce* in *Troil.*, II, 24.

1381. *wruxeled*. Morris glosses 'raised,' but 'varied' better follows the meaning of the OE. verb. Here we may assume 'ornamented' as the slightly modified sense.

1384. *umbe þour-with . . . palle*. The first words should be *umbe-þour*, the last part for *þȝr* 'there' and the

whole for 'thereabout.' An *ou* for *o* appears in other places, as in *fourferde* (560), *four* 'for' (756). Morris glosses *palle* here as 'fine cloth,' as if it were the same word as in 1637. This word is *palle* 'barrier, fence of stakes' from OF. *pal*, Lat. *pālus* 'stake,' as shown by *NED*.

1391. þe halle to hit med. As *hit* is both plural and singular, the words mean 'the hall in their middle or midst.' This is further described in the next line, which should not be separated by any pause. A comma should be put before *þe*.

1393. to usched. Bateson's proposal of *to ysched* destroys the alliteration, which requires a *t*-word. In the glossary to his second edition Morris suggested the word might be *tousched* 'touched,' and the *sch* for *ch* of *church* is not unknown to the poet; cf. *Gaw.* 334 where *schere* is our *cheer* (G.). Knigge, *Die Sprache des Dichters Sir Gawain* etc. (p. 114), also so explains *tousched* of this passage.

1394. dere. Mätzner glosses the word here as 'Menschen,' but that is too weak. It is of course the adj. used as a sb., but in the meaning 'noble, illustrious' rather than 'dear, beloved,' both meanings being found even in Old English. The word is here equivalent to 'nobles,' and in 1399 to 'the illustrious one,' Belshazzar himself.

1396. stayred stones. Morris thought *stayred* was *stared*, which he translated 'shone,' but it is rather ME. *stayren* (*steiren*) 'ascend.' The line may be taken as explaining *sete* of 1395, 'steep raised (ascended) stones of his proud throne.' If this is correct, Morris's proposal of *þe* before *stones* becomes needless.

1397. halle flor. A compound, as in the case of several other words already mentioned.

1398. bounet. That is *bouned* 'prepared, set themselves,' with final *t* for *d* as often.

1402. sturnen trumpen. The first is doubtless *sturne*, since no other certain example of an adj. with *-en* in the plural is found in the poems. *Trumpen* is itself a sufficiently remarkable *-en* plural, since it is a foreign derived word and nominative rather than genitive, as are most other examples; cf. *blonken bak* of 1412, *besten blod* of 1446, *hellen wombe* of *Pat.*, 306.

1403. wrasten krakkes. With this should be compared the description of the feast and the *crakkyng of trumpes* in *Sir Gawain* 116 f. For *wrasten* as applied to music it may be mentioned that OE. *wrāstan*, its original, was used for playing the harp, and in *Jos. of Arim.* (EETS p. 49) ME. *wrastes* is used for the notes of the nightingale.

1406. seerved. This is the alteration by Morris of the ms. *severed*. I suggest that the latter may be *sewered*, from a verb *sewer* 'serve.' . . . Such a verb *sewer* 'act as sewer at a meal' is given by the *NED* with an example of 1553, but may have been used earlier.

1410. foler. The change to *felor*, suggested by Bateson as better, is wholly needless (G.). OF. *ue* quite as often gives ME. *o* as *e*. See the numerous examples in Behrens, *Die Französischen Sprache in England*, p. 152; cf. *NED* under *feloure*.

1414. In spite of Gollancz's agreement with Bateson in accepting *tulket* for ms. *tulket*, I prefer to follow the *NED* in referring the form to ON. *tulka* 'speak, sound.'

1423. waytez onwyde. The *NED* defines this as 'widely,' but such a definition will not fit here or in *Cursor Mundi*, 8667. In the latter it is glossed 'not far off,' and here 'not widely' is surely correct. He looks at things near by and sees not the larger relations.

1458. foul. The conjecture *ful* by Morris must be right.

1459. Enbaned under batelment with bantelles quoynt. *Enbaned* here, and in a similar idiom of *Gaw.*, 790, has never been explained. I suggest that it may be OF. *enbandé* (*embandé*) 'surrounded, encompassed, girt, bordered.' The form may then be a miswriting of the French word, or an English past participle based upon it, *enbanded*, perhaps with one *d* lost by a sort of dissimilation. *Bantelles*, that is *bandelles* 'little bands,' makes this identification more probable.

1460. ferlyle. Must be the adv. written *fertili* in 962. The poet sometimes interchanges final *e* and *y(i)*, as *be* for *by* (819), *by* for *be* in 104, 212, 356, 1610, and *bi* for *be* in 1330.

1463. apert. Bateson's suggestion of OF. *aperti* is not convincing, especially since no other case of that word is recorded in English, while *apert* 'openly' is found in *Pearl.*, 588, and *Gaw.*, 154, 2392 (G.).

1473. tryfled. Doubtless based on OF. *treflé* 'adorned with trefoils,' rather than OF. *trefoil*, *trefuel*, which gave ME. *trefoil*. An OF. form with *i* probably also existed as the nearer ancestor.

1474. Bi uche bekyrande þe bolde, þe brurdes al umbe. To assume that, in this elaborate description of the ornamented and jeweled drinking cups, there is suddenly injected a reference to bickering of bold men, and as sudden return to the description seems to me impossible. I propose therefore *bi uche bekylr ande bole, þe brurdes al umbe*. In line 1461 the poet began the description of the *coperounes of the covacles*, as we must now read the word (see reference to Bödtker at beginning of this paper), that is 'tops of the golden cups.' The descrip-

tion is mainly closed with line 1472, where there should be a semicolon. He then adds of the *brurdes* 'borders': 'So trailed and trefoiled across were all the borders about *bi* (of) each beaker and bowl.' For trailed 'overspread with intertwining tracery' see Spenser, *F. Q.*, V, v. 2. The *NED* gives the first example of *beaker* with the stressed vowel *e* as of 1440, but that need hardly weigh against the reading here proposed. The scribal error *þe bolde* for *bole* may be due to misunderstanding of the passage, or to anticipating the following *þe brurdes*.

1476. *flee3* of *golde*. Professor Ekwall (*Eng. Stud.*, XLIX, p. 484) objects to 'fleece,' the gloss of Morris, and proposes 'fly' from OE. *flēoge*. The suggestion is pleasing if the Middle English sense of 'bee' is intended, as in Chaucer's *Parl. of Foules*, 353, but unfortunately the plural of OE. *flēoge* should appear as *flyzes* in the poem, as it does in *Sir Gawain*, 166. In the sense of a flocky or fleece-like background 'fleece' is not impossible. Otherwise, if the suggestion is adopted, we should assume scribal error for *flyzes* or *flyze3*.

1477. *dresset*. For *dressed*, with final *t* for *d* as often.

1484. *waged*. Referred by Morris to OE. *wagian*, but this became *wazien*, *wawen*. The word is Scandinavian *vagga* 'wag, move.'

1491. I suggest inserting *þer* before *soþefast* and re-punctuating. A comma should take the place of the semicolon at end of 1490, a comma should be placed after *sanctorum*, and that at the end of the line deleted.

1507. *vus*. In his notes Morris suggests perhaps *bus* 'drink,' MnE. *bouse*, but it is rather *us* 'use' with the alliteration on *bede*.

1512. *machches*. Morris assumes the word is a noun, but surely this is a verb 'matches,' and *machches* with the preceding *for* means no more than 'serves.'

1518. As Bateson mentions, some *d*-word has been omitted, but I think his *dressed dere* can be improved. I suggest, as better metrically, *þenne derely arn dressed*.

1525. gaules. Bateson says must be 'wretches,' but without explaining. The word *gall* 'sore on a horse' is recorded as early as 1537 in sense of 'person or thing that harrasses' (*NED*). *Gaul* as a geographical name is first recorded by the *NED* as of 1563. One of these words doubtless accounts for the form in *Clannesse*, and it seems to me the geographical name in an opprobrious sense is quite as likely to be the original.

1532. in contrary of þe candelstik. Perhaps the *Vulgate*, *Dan.* 5, 5, *contra candelabrum*, accounts for the words.

1540. stonde. Morris glosses 'blow,' but the word is a spelling of *stounde* 'moment, time, hour.' Morris has wrongly glossed the latter form of the word for *Pearl*, 20.

1543. ryth. According to Bateson the *NED* alters to *ryther*, but I do not find under *rother* to which it refers the word. The word may be based on an unrecorded OE. **hrith*, OS. *hrith*, beside OE. *hriðer* and with the same meaning 'ox, bull.' (G). On the other hand it has not been pointed out that the word might be OE. *ryðða* 'mastiff, hound,' which might be thought of as roaming and roaring like a bull.

1551. bok lered. Should be a compound, OE. *bōcge-læred*, as Bradley-Stratmann recognizes.

1559. ede. The change to *bede*, suggested by Morris, is not absolutely necessary. 'He went to seek men throughout the city' does not necessarily mean that the king himself made the journey.

1595. redles. Another case of adj. for sb., since *redlesnes* would be the expected form. Compare, among many others, *for þikke* in 504.

1629. & at beginning of line has probably been brought down by error from the preceding line.

1646-48. *lykes* in the first and *desyre* in the second should be *lyked* and *desyred*, to agree with other verbs of the context. *Bityde* (1647) may be a past tense for *bitydde*, or otherwise should be changed to *bityded*.

1661. *blasfemyon*. Should be *blasfemy*, with *on* an adv. if it is retained. The length of the line suggests that *on* is probably a mistake.

1681. *His hert heldet unhole*. The last word is glossed by Morris 'badly,' but I suggest that it is another adj. used as a sb. and means 'evil,' the subject of the verb *heldet*, i. e. *helded*.

1684. *ay*. Morris in notes conjectures *hay* and that seems likely, although *ay* 'ever' could be retained.

1687. *mony þik thyze*. In his side-note Morris glosses, 'His thighs grew thick,' but this corresponds to nothing in the Scripture story and is scarcely a good translation. 'There many a thick thigh pressed about his flesh' seems to mean only that the animals of the herd pressed upon him as he fed, that is he was wholly one of them.

1690. *wykes*. Morris glosses 'member, part,' although referring to ON. *vik*. In *Gaw.*, 1572 the word is used for the corners of a boar's mouth, and such use is probable here. To the poet Nebuchadnezzar has become an ox in reality, and the hair of his neck reaches to his mouth.

1692. *clyvy*. Morris assumes a verb 'cleave,' but I suggest OE. *clife* 'bur,' with final *y* for *e* as already noticed in some other words.

1695. *campe hores*. Bradley-Stratman gives no such form, but under *kempe* adj. refers to this place and to Chaucer's *Kt. T.*, 1276:

And lyk a griffon loked he aboute,
With kempe heres on his browes stoute.

The two expressions are undoubtedly connected, but this is a direct ON. borrowing of *kamp-r* 'beard, mustache' and *hār* 'hair.' It means literally 'whisker hairs,' or as we should say 'shaggy,' the somewhat weaker meaning given by Bradley-Stratmann. Both this and the Southern form of Chaucer should be recognized as compounds.

1697. *paune*. To assume *panne* as Morris thought possible does not assist in meaning. Bateson's *paume* is also a less likely form than to take *paune* as an *en*-plural of OF. *pau* 'paw, foot' with final *e* not pronounced as often. (G). The form Bateson suggests does occur in the *Gawain* (1155), but there means 'antlers.' For the *-en* plural cf. *Trumpen* 1402.

1698. *ouer-brawdēn*. Morris glosses 'covered over,' but I suggest that 'bent over' would better suit the place and complete the idea intended.

1703. *laved*. Morris's conjecture *loved* seems justified by sense, and by other places where *a* and *o* have been confused. This Böttker pointed out in reference at head of this article, when explaining *canacles* (1461), *conacle3* (1515).

1717. *in þede*. The gloss of Morris, 'brewer's strainer,' although adopted by the *NED*, is surely impossible. Or if Belshazzar did undertake to serve wine in brewer's strainers he should have lost his kingdom. It has not been noted, I think, that the poet has made a somewhat radical departure from the original in *Dan.* 5, 23. In lines 1443-5 he tells us that 'the altar of brass which had been blessed by bishops' hands' had been set up. Here he makes out that 'wine which had been, or should have been, blessed by the bishop had been brought *in þede*.' The sin is not alone in using the consecrated vessels, but in using in them

wine for common purposes. The poet's conception is of the medieval sacramental service. Now *in þede* fits this conception, because it is merely OE. *on (in) þēode* 'among the people, among men.' This is also the meaning of the same expression in *Gaw.*, 1499, while *in are þede* of *Pearl*, 711 means 'among the people of old.' The gloss of Morris, 'country,' is the less natural one from OE. usage, and less appropriate in all these cases.

1747. a lof calde. Such is the reading of the second edition, the first having *alof called*. With the latter reading before him Morris had suggested that *alof* might be for *aloft*, but the emendation was dropped from the second edition. Bateson, without examining the second edition, proposes the form Morris last used. Both are wrong, however. The line should read:

þe comynes al of Calde þat to þe kyng longed.

With the preceding line then the sense is: 'Bold Belshazzar bade that all the commons of Chaldea who belonged to the king should bow to him,' that is Daniel. (G).

1761. þorþ þe lyst of þe lyfte. Morris glosses *lyst* 'path, border,' assuming a word not otherwise found in English, but occurring in Dutch. This seems to depend on his recognizing for *lyfte* only the meanings 'heavens, sky,' rather than the commoner 'air, breeze.' With the latter in mind the expression would seem to mean only 'through the pleasure of the breeze.'

1764. at forþ naȝtes. The homely reality of the preceding lines suggest that we may have here also a bit of English life. As the light of the sky darkens and the mist drives down, each man hies to his home, sits at supper, sings thereafter, then finds his bedfellow *at forþ naȝtes*. I conjecture that we may have here a compound word of

time, a derivative of OE. *feorþa* 'fourth' and *naȝt* 'night,' after the manner of OE. *feorþ-rīce*, 'fourth part of a kingdom.' Such a compound, *forþ-naȝt*, 'fourth part of the night,' would then be an equivalent for 'bedtime,' or about nine o'clock at night. This would not be impossible if the true form is *forþ-naȝtes* as Morris prints, with *es* in italics as not written out in the MS.

1776. *scaped*. Bateson would alter to *scaled*, but it is unnecessary. The general sense of *scaped* 'injured, harmed' is made more specific in the following lines. The description follows the lines of a medieval attack on a walled city.

I see no reason to change my note on account of Gol-lancz's suggestion of *scayed* as the poet's mistake for *scayled*, supporting it from the Northern form *skayles* of *Morte Arthur*, 3034.

1777. *upon*. Sense and syntax require the adverb *up* should be separated from the preposition *on*, the latter alone governing *lofte*.

1808. *telled*. Morris was certainly justified in suggesting *telles*.

The punctuation of the poem needs more complete revision than these notes would indicate. The poet often fails to indicate the relations of parts of his sentences, using parallel or adversative clauses without the usual connectives, besides other peculiar forms of sentence structure.

Perhaps it may be worth noting that, if the suggestions of this paper are accepted, the following words appear at dates earlier than hitherto recorded: *beaker* (1474); *corby* (456); *fester* 'putrify, rot' (1040), *forknowen* 'fore-known' (119); *plate* 'place, situation' (27); *sewer* 'act as sewer at a meal' (1406). Besides, the following compounds should be recognized as such in Middle English

dictionaries: *brere-flour* (791); *campe-hor*, South Midland
kempe-her 'whisker hair, bristly hair' (1695); *clenelaik*
'purity' (1058); *halle-flor* (1397); *schroude-hous* 'tiring
house of priests' (1076).

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